

## Message Text

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TO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 238554

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ECON, EFIN, NATO

SUBJECT: ECONADS: APPRECIATION OF THE ECONOMIC POSITION  
OF THE NATO AND WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES FOR THE PERIOD  
THROUGH 1982. - -

REFS: NATO 5940

NATO 5180

STATE 217299

1. WASHINGTON AGENCIES HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE DRAFT IN  
HAND AND WE COULD NOT AGREE TO ITS RELEASE AS AN ECONOMIC  
COMMITTEE DOCUMENT. DIRECTORATE MAY FIND IT USEFUL TO  
ATTEMPT REDRAFT IN LIGHT OF FOLLOWING COMMENTS. HOWEVER,  
THIS IS A DECISION BEST LEFT TO DIRECTORATE IN CONSULTATION  
WITH MISSIONS, SINCE TIME AND RESOURCES WILL LARGELY  
DETERMINE BEST WAY TO PROCEED. WE WOULD APPRECIATE OPPOR-  
TUNITY TO REVIEW ANY REVISED REPORT TO THE MILITARY  
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COMMITTEE PREPARED BY THE DIRECTORATE.

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2. STRONGLY SUGGEST MODIFICATION OF ECONOMIC DIRECTORATE  
DRAFT OF MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE ON RESOURCES (REF B) SINCE

IT IS TAKEN NEARLY VERBATIM FROM THIS STUDY. COMMENTS  
BELOW APPLY EQUALLY TO SUCH GUIDANCE.

3. COMMENTS ARE INDEXED BY PARAGRAPH FROM THE DRAFT.  
(AC/127-WP 407, DATED SEPTEMBER 2, 1974).

PARA 1. CONCLUSION DOES NOT FOLLOW FROM TEXT REGARDING  
WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. NO EVIDENCE IS AVAILABLE TO SUP-  
PORT THE ASSERTION THAT THE WARSAW PACT, AS A WHOLE,  
WILL BENEFIT FROM GENERAL RECESSION. HIGH RATES OF  
INFLATION WILL HAVE DIFFERENT EFFECTS ON THE EXPORTS AND  
IMPORTS OF THE VARIOUS WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES, DEPENDING  
ON THE COMPOSITION AND DIRECTION OF TRADE.

JUST AS THE STUDY HAS NOTED DIFFERENT IMPACT OF GENERAL  
PHENOMENA ON VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE NATO ALLIANCE, THE  
ANALYSIS OF THE WARSAW PACT SHOULD NOTE THE FACT THAT  
INFLATION IN PARTICULAR WILL AFFECT THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES  
DIFFERENTLY. TERMS OF TRADE FOR THE SOVIET UNION HAVE  
IMPROVED WHILE THOSE OF THE REMAINDER OF EAST EUROPE HAVE  
BECOME LESS FAVORABLE. THE FORTHCOMING ROUND OF NEGOTIA-  
TIONS WHICH IS TO MODIFY CEMA PRICES TO MORE NEARLY  
REFLECT WORLD PRICES, WILL STRONGLY INFLUENCE THE LONGER-  
RUN EFFECTS OF THE WESTERN INFLATION ON THE WARSAW PACT  
COUNTRIES. THE RESULTS OF THIS NEGOTIATION ARE IMPOSSIBLE  
TO PREDICT FROM HERE, BUT IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE  
PRICE STRUCTURE OF COMMODITIES TRADED WITHIN CEMA WILL BE  
DICTATED BY BOTH THE PRICES WHICH PREVAIL IN THE WEST AND  
BY THE POLITICAL FACTORS WHICH WILL IMPINGE ON THE  
NEGOTIATIONS. IN PARTICULAR, IT IS REASONABLE TO EXPECT  
THAT THE TERMS OF TRADE OF THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES  
WITH MOSCOW WILL DECLINE FURTHER AFTER 1975.

PARA 2. DOES THE ECONOMIC DIRECTORATE FORESEE A WORLD-  
WIDE RECESSION (IMPLYING SIGNIFICANT LINKS BETWEEN  
EASTERN AND WESTERN ECONOMIES) OR WESTERN-ONLY RECESSION  
AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE POSSIBLE FAILURE OF THE ADJUSTMENT  
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PROCESS?

PARA 3. WE BELIEVE THAT SOME DIFFERENCE SHOULD BE NOTED  
BETWEEN THE POSITION OF THE USSR AND THE REMAINDER OF  
THE WARSAW PACT. THOSE COUNTRIES WITH HIGHER LEVELS OF  
FOREIGN TRADE ARE LIKELY TO BE SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECTED BY  
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE WEST. A TABLE SHOWING TRADE  
TURNOVER WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES, ESTIMATED GNP AND  
COMMODITY COMPOSITION OF TRADE WOULD FURTHER THE ANALYSIS  
OF THE SIZE OF THE EFFECTS ON THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES.

PARA 4. BELIEVE THAT SENTENCE BEGINNING "THIS FACTOR "  
AND ENDING "UNFORESEEN TRAIN OF EVENTS," DOES NOT ADD TO

THE ANALYSIS AND IS, AT BEST, SPECULATIVE.

PARA 5. DELETE BEGINNING FROM THE WORDS, "ON THE OTHER HAND....," SINCE THIS IS NOT SUPPORTABLE FROM THE DRAFT.

PARA 6. DELETE. EFFECTS ON VARIOUS COUNTRIES WILL DIFFER

PARA 7. DELETE. TOO BROADLY DRAWN. PREFER LANGUAGE OF PARA 8, BELOW.

PARA 8. IF THE SOVIET UNION REALIZES A REAL GROWTH RATE OF FIVE PERCENT, AS WE ASSUME, IT COULD CONSIDERABLY INCREASE THE AMOUNT OF RESOURCES GOING TO DEFENSE WITHOUT INCREASING THE DEFENSE SHARE OF GNP. WE ESTIMATE THAT THE INCREASE IN DEFENSE EXPENDITURES IN RECENT YEARS HAS BEEN AT THE RATE OF ABOUT 3 PERCENT, MATCHING NATO BUT LESS THAN THE FULL INCREMENT OF REAL GROWTH.

PARA 9. DELETE. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS COMPARISON BETWEEN NORTH AMERICA AND NATO EUROPE IS UNSUPPORTED BY EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO US.

PARA 10. DELETE FROM "OTHER MEMBER COUNTRIES..."

TABLE ON PAGE 8. DOES THIS REPRESENT EXPECTED RATES OF GROWTH?

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PARA 11. PLEASE CITE SOURCE FOR THE PROJECTIONS OF GROWTH RATES QUOTED HERE.

PARA 12. DELETE OR MAKE LESS SPECULATIVE IN TONE, E.G.  
-- "THE IMPACT OF THE HIGHER PRICES FOR OIL, THE EFFECTS OF WHICH HAVE NOT YET BEEN FULLY FELT IN PRICE LEVELS OR THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, AND THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED IN CURBING INFLATION HAVE CREATED DIFFICULT CHOICES FOR POLICY-MAKERS.

PARA 13.  
-- DELETE "IN THEIR EFFORTS TO AVOID THIS". SENTENCE WILL BEGIN "WESTERN GOVERNMENTS WILL BE FACED WITH THE PROBLEM OF ..."

-- SUGGEST SUBSTITUTION OF "SURPLUS FUNDS" FOR "INCOMES" IN SECOND POINT.

-- SUGGEST ADDITION OF A FOURTH ASSUMPTION WHICH DEALS WITH THE NEED FOR SOME INCREASE IN THE ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY OF THE OPEC COUNTRIES.

-- SUGGEST LAST SENTENCE TO READ AS FOLLOWS: "FAILURE TO COPE SUCCESSFULLY WITH THESE PROBLEMS COULD CAUSE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR NATO MEMBER COUNTRIES INDIVIDUALLY AND FOR THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE.

PARA 14.

-- THE PRICES OF THE RAW MATERIALS CITED SHOULD BE SHOWN AS A TABLE, GIVING SOURCE.

-- DELETE SENTENCE BEGINNING, "THERE IS NEVERTHELESS, A CONSIDERABLE RISK..."

PARA 15. DELETE FOLLOWING "IMBALANCES". REMAINDER SEEMS UNNECESSARILY PEJORATIVE.

PARA 16. SENTENCE BEGINNING "ON PRESENT ESTIMATES..." SHOULD BE OMITTED UNLESS SOURCE AND METHODS FOR CURRENT ACCOUNT PROJECTION THROUGH 1978 ARE SPECIFICALLY STATED. CONFIDENTIAL

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PARA 17. REVISE TO READ AS FOLLOWS:

-- IF ALL COUNTRIES TRIED TO SOLVE THEIR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEMS BY INCREASING EXPORTS AND DECREASING IMPORTS A DESTRUCTIVE TRADE WAR MIGHT DEVELOP. TO AVOID THIS, THE OECD MEMBER COUNTRIES, ON MAY 30, 1974, PLEDGED TO AVOID NEW RESTRICTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE FOR A PERIOD OF AT LEAST ONE YEAR.

PARA 18. DELETE OR ELSE SUBSTITUTE: "BECAUSE OF THE OIL PRICE INCREASES, NATO MEMBER COUNTRIES AS A WHOLE ARE NOT EXPECTED TO ATTAIN CURRENT ACCOUNT EQUILIBRIUM FOR SOME YEARS. DURING THIS PERIOD, FINANCING OF IMPORT NEEDS WILL BE ONE OF THE MAJOR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS."

PARA 19. OMIT LAST PART OF LAST SENTENCE BEGINNING WITH "AND THE FUTURE OF THE BORROWING CAPACITY...."

PARA 20. OMIT FIRST SENTENCE AND SUBSTITUTE: "SURPLUS OIL FUNDS WILL FIND THEIR WAY BACK TO THE OIL CONSUMING NATIONS EITHER IN THE FORM OF OIL PRODUCER INVESTMENTS, LOANS OR GRANTS." AMEND FIRST PART OF SECOND SENTENCE TO READ: "THE DIRECTION OF INVESTMENT FLOWS WILL IN PART DEPEND...ETC." IN THE THIRD SENTENCE, OMIT THE "THEREFORE" AND LAST PART OF SENTENCE BEGINNING "WITH ONLY A SMALL PART ...ETC," AND INSTEAD FINISH SENTENCE AS FOLLOWS: "ALTHOUGH THE OIL PRODUCERS HAVE ALSO TURNED TO MULTILATERAL CHANNELS SUCH AS THE IMF OIL FACILITY AND TO BILATERAL ASSISTANCE."

PARA 21. REPLACE BY FOLLOWING.

TO REACH A HIGHER DEGREE OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN ENERGY  
IS A LONGER-TERM TASK REQUIRING CONSIDERABLE CAPITAL

RESOURCES. FOR SOME COUNTRIES, SUFFICIENT AMOUNTS OF  
CAPITAL MIGHT NOT BECOME AVAILABLE FOR THIS PURPOSE.

PARA 22. REPLACE BY THE FOLLOWING.

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ENERGY CONSERVATION IS THE MOST IMPORTANT AREA FOR  
REMEDY OF PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH INCREASED OIL EXPENDI-  
TURES, UNTIL NEW TECHNOLOGY FOR ENERGY PRODUCTION CAN BE  
DEVELOPED AND IN THE ABSENCE OF NEW SOURCES OF FOSSIL  
FUELS.

THE EEC HAS SET TARGETS FOR REDUCTION IN THE GROWTH  
OF ENERGY REQUIREMENTS. IT IS HOPED THAT THIS RATE WILL  
FALL BELOW THE SIX PERCENT ANNUAL INCREASE OBSERVED  
BETWEEN 1968 AND 1973. IF THIS IS ACHIEVED, THEIR  
EXPENDITURES FOR ENERGY IMPORTS WILL STOP RISING BY 1978  
AND BEGIN TO FALL BY 1982.

PARA 23. REPLACE BY THE FOLLOWING.

IN THE LONGER RUN, DURING THE NEXT FOUR OR FIVE  
YEARS, EFFORTS MUST BE DIRECTED TO INCREASES IN DOMESTIC  
PRODUCTION AMONG THE OIL-IMPORTING NATIONS, TO THE  
DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF NEW TECHNOLOGY FOR  
ENERGY PRODUCTION, AND TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MACHINERY  
TO PERMIT CONTINUING DISCUSSION WITH OIL EXPORTERS,  
DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ABOUT PRODUCTION AND PRICING  
OF FOSSIL FUELS, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EMERGENCY  
FACILITIES INCLUDING STOCKPILE AND POOLING ARRANGEMENTS.

PARA 24. TONE SEEMS UNNECESSARILY PESSIMISTIC. AS A  
LONG-TERM PROPOSITION, IT SEEMS AT LEAST POSSIBLE THAT  
INVESTMENT IN NEW FORMS OF PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY WILL  
PRODUCE GROWTH IN CONSUMPTION AND TOTAL PRODUCT. THE  
SHORT AND LONGER TERM PERIOD FOR ANALYSIS SHOULD BE  
DIFFERENTIATED.

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PARA 26. PLEASE DELETE. WE DISAGREE WITH THE ASSUMPTION.

PARA 28. THERE IS NO CLEAR RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GROWTH  
OF THE DEBT BURDEN AND A "STRICT LIMITATION ON IMPROVEMENTS  
IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING." THE CRITICAL ASPECTS ARE  
CHANGES IN CAPACITY TO BORROW, ON THE ONE HAND, AND  
TRANSFER OF REAL RESOURCES ON THE OTHER.

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PARA 29. THE ANALYSIS HERE IS NOT CLEAR, AND THE CON-

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CLUSIONS SEEM UNWARRANTED FROM EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO US.  
THE TRANSFER OF FINANCIAL ASSETS TO THE ARAB COUNTRIES,  
AS THE RESULT OF INCREASES IN THE PRICE OF OIL GIVE GROUNDS

FOR CONCERN, BUT NOT A RATIONALE FOR THE PROJECTION OF  
LOWER GROWTH RATES, AFTER THE INITIAL TRANSFERS AND  
ADJUSTMENTS ARE ACCOMPLISHED.

PARA 31. SUGGEST AS SEPARATE PARAGRAPH THE FOLLOWING:

POPULATION GROWTH IS LIKELY TO DECREASE, PLACING LESS  
STRAIN ON THE RESOURCES AVAILABLE FOR CONSUMPTION, BUT  
NOT TO SUCH AN EXTENT THAT MILITARY MANPOWER RECRUITMENT  
WILL BE HINDERED.

PARA 35. THIS PARAGRAPH SHOULD BE DOCUMENTED BY A TABLE,  
WITH SOURCES APPENDED. THE CONCLUSION THAT RESOURCES HAVE  
REACHED LEVELS "INADEQUATE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY" SHOULD  
BE DOCUMENTED OR ANALYSIS PROVIDED.

PARA 37. RELATIVE GROWTH RATES TAKEN BY ASSUMPTION ARE  
NOT SUPPORTED, AND LEAD TO UNWARRANTED CONCLUSION.

PARA 38. THIRD SENTENCE SHOULD BE REPLACED WITH THE  
FOLLOWING:

"IN THE SOVIET UNION ON THE OTHER HAND, PERFORMANCE  
WAS UNEVEN. GROWTH IN 1972, OWING LARGELY TO A BAD  
HARVEST, WAS THE LOWEST IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD. IN 1973,  
THE HARVEST REACHED RECORD LEVELS, AND GNP ROSE BY MORE  
THAN SIX PERCENT."

PARA 39. BELIEVE THAT INCREASE IN SOVIET EARNINGS OF  
CONVERTIBLE CURRENCY IS BETTER REPRESENTED BY AN ESTIMATE  
OF 665 RATHER THAN 600 MILLION DOLLARS, WITH RESPECT TO  
GOLD AND 700 RATHER THAN 300 MILLION WITH RESPECT TO OIL.

AS REGARDS EASTERN EUROPE, BELIEVE THAT CHANGES IN  
EXPORT AND IMPORT PRICES WILL BOTH BE REQUIRED IN ORDER  
TO ASSESS THE PROSPECTS FOR THE FOREIGN TRADE SECTOR. FOR  
THIS PURPOSE, WE WOULD SUGGEST THE PRESENTATION OF A TABLE  
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WHICH SHOWS A GNP ESTIMATE (IN DOLLARS) AND VALUE OF TRADE  
TURNOVER (ALSO IN DOLLARS), FOR EACH OF THE COUNTRIES OF  
THE WARSAW PACT.

PARA 40 AND 41. WHAT IS REQUIRED HERE IS THREE STATEMENTS

--THE PROSPECTS FOR INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION, THE PROSPECTS FOR AGRICULTURE AND THE PROSPECTS FOR FOREIGN TRADE. THE SECTION SHOULD FOOTNOTE THE TABLE SUGGESTED EARLIER WHICH WOULD PRESENT GNP (IN DOLLARS) AND VOLUME OF FOREIGN TRADE IN EACH OF THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. WE WOULD NOTE THAT FOREIGN TRADE IS APPROXIMATELY SIX PERCENT OF THE USSR GNP AND OFFER THE COMMENT THAT A FORECAST OF THE DIRECTION OF

THE ECONOMY FROM THIS INDICATOR ASSUMES A RELATIONSHIP WHICH IS NOT CLEARLY IN EVIDENCE. THE OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN ECONOMIES ARE MORE DEPENDENT ON FOREIGN TRADE THAN THE USSR, AND PERHAPS MORE VULNERABLE TO THE EFFECTS OF WESTERN INFLATION.

THE DATA ON AGRICULTURAL PERFORMANCE SHOULD BE AVAILABLE AT THE END OF OCTOBER OBTAINING THE NECESSITY FOR RELIANCE ON PROJECTIONS FOR THIS SECTOR.

PARA 42. THE COST OF SOME SOVIET RAW MATERIALS WILL RISE. WHAT WILL BE THE EFFECT OF THIS INCREASE IN COSTS?

PARAS 43, 44 AND 48, SEEM TO RUN COUNTER TO THEORY OF USSR GROWTH EXPRESSED ELSEWHERE IN PAPER.

PARA 46. DELETE THE LANGUAGE FOLLOWING "REMAINS IN-EFFICIENT."

PARA 49. STRONGLY SUGGEST DELETION. WE ARE UNAWARE OF ANY LEADERSHIP WHICH IS WILLING TO ACCEPT "FAR-REACHING ECONOMIC REFORM."

PARA 52. DELETE FOLLOWING WORDS "ON THE KHOLHOZ OR BLACK MARKETS."

PARA 53. PLEASE DELETE. POLITICS ARE AT LEAST AS IMPORTANT AS ECONOMICS IN THE DECISION OF GOVERNMENTS  
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TO FOSTER JOINT PRODUCTION SCHEMES AND THE ECONOMICS WHICH IS ARGUED HERE IS NOT CLEAR.

PARA 54 THROUGH 56. FOR THE USSR AND EAST EUROPE, THE PERFORMANCE OF THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR IS THE BEST INDICATOR AND DETERMINANT OF THE PERFORMANCE OF THE ECONOMY AS A WHOLE. EFFORTS TO PROJECT OVER-ALL GROWTH RATES SHOULD PROBABLY STRESS WHAT CAN BE KNOWN OR PROJECTED ABOUT THE PERFORMANCE OF THAT SECTOR.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE CHOICE OF THESE PARTICULAR GROWTH RATES SHOULD BE SUPPORTED SOMEWHERE IN THE DOCUMENT. NO CITATION IS GIVEN, NOR IS THERE ANY SUFFICIENTLY PRECISE ANALYSIS TO WARRANT THE CONCLUSIONS STATED.

PARA 57 TO THE END. A STUDY OF SOVIET DEFENSE SPENDING  
WILL BE AVAILABLE SHORTLY, AND WILL BE CONSIDERED BY THE  
ECONOMIC COMMITTEE. WE BELIEVE THAT THE CONCLUSIONS  
REGARDING SOVIET DEFENSE SPENDING SHOULD BE CONSISTENT  
WITH THAT STUDY. INGERSOLL

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